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841 853 171 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved. [123]

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed. [412]

No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning. [757]

836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 171 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkõ'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

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839 Perversions seem to be extremely rare. I know nothing of masturbation or homosexuality. I heard of one youth, somewhat abnormal in other respects, who had cohabited with a calf. The old people declared nothing of the sort had ever happened before. The solitary known case of incest is that described on page 114.

838 A certain Nyõkwụ'dn, about twenty-five years old (1936), is a marked invert in tendency. He has a high falsetto voice and a more feminine carriage than many a girl. In sitting down he often assumes a woman's posture and displays a striking predilection for feminine domestic tasks. In a photograph of fourteen young men he is the only one to cover his genitalia with a bunch of leaves. He has never had sexual relations with a girl, but I expressly ascertained that he has never been known to indulge in homosexual practices. The omnipotent ceremonial pattern obliges him to join his age mates in all their performances, which he does unresistingly. To his tribesmen he remains an enigma; tradition does not report any comparable instance in the past. But since he does not play truant in any activity, people do not mock him and permit him to live according to his strange inclinations.

WEDDINGS

585 123 596 Formerly the majority of youths married their fiancées in a joint ceremony immediately consequent on the close of the last phase of the initiation festival. The last collective wedding of this sort seems to have occurred in 1913, for none followed the close of initiation in 1923 and 1933. This was probably due to the fact that many of the young warriors were already married. The old people in conversation with me repeatedly regretted the decadence of this usage, and since I encouraged them to insist on its maintenance they arranged with the leaders of the latest initiates, the põhịtĩkama class, to make up for the omitted solemnity. Soon the põhịtĩkama, whom I had joined as a sort of honorary member, came to me gleefully declaring that after all it would be better to adhere to ancient custom. I eagerly agreed, but when I scrutinized the program it turned out that I was booked to wed the thirteen-year-old Kõrédn! This, then, explained the girl's recent solicitude on behalf of my horses; her uncle Pụtõ's remarkably comradely attitude; her elder sister Rạreprị''s invitation to enter the house whenever I passed by. On meeting Pụtõ' the next time I explained that I was not able to get married in these circumstances. He said nothing in reply for the time being, but went to his maternal home and summoned a family council that included himself, his brother, his two sisters, one of whom was Kõrédn's mother, and another old woman. Then he sent Kõrédn herself to invite me to come. Obviously everything had been settled, for he was the only one to speak, saying that Kõrédn had told him she wanted to marry me; that my impending departure was no obstacle; for some day I would return since I was one of them and not of the "Christians"; that then I should find my wife in precisely the condition in which I had left her, as he and his sister would take care would be the case. I expressed regret over the unfavorable conditions, but persisted in my refusal, explaining the inconvenient consequences of grass widowhood for the girl (p. 126 f.). All present remained silent, and I went home.

[623] In the evening and on the following day the matter seemed to be discussed further by the council in the plaza. Then once more there was a family assembly in Kõrédn's home, I being again summoned, with the same result as before. All around me their faces showed displeasure, and Kõrédn was in tears. A few hours later a dozen põhịtĩkama came to me, accompanied by their commandant, a kwụ'nõ of mine, who told me categorically that in view of my refusal they had dropped the project of a collective wedding. I vainly tried to convince them that my per-

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sonality played a wholly incidental role in this proposed celebration; it was impossible to discuss the matter rationally, which was henceforth never broached again.

The older men gave the following account of the solemnity as conducted in the old days:

The master of ceremonies was customarily the leader, mamkyẽ'ti, of the oldest sportively active age class, who in this capacity bore the name of hudoipiapónkaté. The young warriors' maternal uncles went hunting in order to get meat and falcon down. The game was handed over to the brides' mothers, who prepared meat pies therefrom. The young warriors, as well as their brides, were decorated with falcon down, each in his maternal home. The former assembled in the plaza in a precentor's company, sat down in a circle, and began to sing. Then the hudoipiapónkaté grasped the young warriors' leader by the hand, pulled him up, and while singing "kapẽ-pẽ-ẽ toipẽ amčú!" he led him to the bride's house, where a new mat was lying spread out over the platform bed and the bride was expecting him in standing position. The hudoipiapónkaté led the couple to the mat, telling them to sit down beside each other, and intertwine arms and legs. Thereupon he admonished them as to the duties of conjugal life. To the groom he might say, "Now you must separate from your parents. You may visit them, you may bring them some of the game brought home from hunting, but above all you must look out for your wife and your mother-in-law!" Then he received a meat pie and left. Similarly, each young warrior in turn was led to his fiancée provided he had one and was of proper age. Then the households of all the newlyweds sent meat pies to the councilors in the plaza.

However, there always remained a number of young warriors who because of their youth or some other reason were not married immediately after initiation, but continued to sleep every night in the plaza and subsequently were married singly, though by the same ceremonial.

Of the Põrekamekra, Pohl writes:[387]

> Der Bräutigam erscheint am ganzen Leib mit Gummi bestrichen und mit weißen Vogelfedern beklebt. So geschmückt wird er von seinen Aeltern und Verwandten, unter dem weithin dröhnenden Schall der Hörner, in das Haus der Braut geführt und dort in einer Art von Wortwechsel um diese geworben. Nach erteilter Bewilligung wird die Feierlichkeit mit einem Schmause beschlossen.

Obviously the author in part misinterpreted the procedure.

No Rąmkõ'kamekra is obliged to marry against his will. If a seducer of a virgin refuses to marry her, he can be forced to pay an indemnity but not to take her to wife. This principle still holds, at least in theory. If a mother or uncle were to attempt to coerce a girl into marriage with an economically suitable young man, she would at once thrust at them the story of Klĵkwę'i, which seems to date back some sixty or seventy years, when the village was situated on the Riacho Rapoza, somewhat below the present settlement.

When Klĵkwę'i, who was very pretty, had received her girdle, her mother selected an able and industrious youth for her daughter's husband. However, the girl absolutely refused, preferring another, of whom her mother disapproved. The mother scolded and in reply to her daughter's request for sympathy, struck her on the back with her fist. Klĵkwę'i lay down on her platform bed and cried. In the afternoon she got up, hung her corded girdle about her sash-fashion, and went out of the village by herself. Where the northbound road passes between two hills she found a faveira tree at her right; unknotting her girdle, she tied it to a branch and hanged herself. When she failed to return after sunset, people looked for her, found her trail, and then her body. Since then every Indian passerby would strike

[387] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

768 After the husband's death the widow and her
children are shielded from want by her brothers and sisters. A widower normally
886 returns to his mother's house. He is really the one more deserving of pity, especially after decades of wedlock, when he is too old to remarry. Accordingly, two old widowers with adult daughters did not take the trouble to move to their matrilineal home, but for the rest of their lifetime remained with their girls. On the other hand, young widowers who contemplate remarriage leave the house of the deceased a few days after the death even if there should be issue. However, father and children visit each other, the former occasionally bringing the youngsters a gift consisting of victuals and in turn being entertained by them.

585 When a man moves into his mother-in-law's home, his social position alters only
571 with reference to this new relationship to the inmates of the house and to his age class in so far as he ceases to sleep with the bachelors in the plaza. Otherwise his social activities hardly suffer any change; of the many social units with which he is affiliated only the family takes cognizance of the cleavage between married and single men.

591 Strictly speaking, a husband cannot be said to "move" from his maternal to
593 his mother-in-law's home; he rather becomes a member of two households simultaneously, and I have always had the impression that he feels the bond with his mother's house as far closer than with his wife's. This is quite natural since the former is indestructible, while the latter may be dissolved any day. For example, a married man continues to turn over part of his game to his mother's household or has his wife do so. Either alone or in the company of his wife he will often spend a part of the day with his mother, who prepares food for both spouses. Usually a man also keeps part of his personal belongings at his mother's—if for no other reason, in order to preserve them from encroachments by his brothers-in-law. Further, as indicated above, a man who falls seriously ill goes back to his
[764] mother's, usually with his wife, to remain there till his recovery. If it is at all possible, a Timbira dies at his mother's house, where the corpse is invariably laid out.

604 At his mother's a man always is respected and decisively influences his sister's
[726] children, for whose support he is in part responsible in an emergency. His role in a niece's marriage has been noted; anciently, a nephew was his preordained companion in a raid against enemies and preceded him in an attack.

664 After the official council session and the subsequent chat in the plaza, that is,
512 about 7:30 P.M., the dignitaries and their male auditors by no means depart
593 straightaway to their wives, each rather regularly betaking himself to his matrilineal home, where he is an expected guest at that hour. As soon as he has seated himself there on a bed, his mother, sister, or niece serves him some food that has always been previously prepared for him. Not until he has eaten and uttered his opinion on family affairs does he leave for his wife's home.

MOURNING

765 Whenever a married Indian goes on a protracted journey—say, a begging jaunt
484 to one of the coastal state capitals—his wife goes into a mourner's seclusion until
593 his return. This retreat differs from that customary after a death only through the lack of lamentation and its possibly much greater duration. The woman ceases to cut her hair and to paint herself, puts on no decorative object, does not appear publicly, holds conversation only with her house mates, and rarely leaves her platform bed. Kentapí thus mourned over her absent husband from the beginning of August, 1930, until the beginning of April, 1931. Snr. Marcellino Miranda, the

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837 562 554 virgins; the group further comprises all divorcées and widows who do not as soon as possible enter another fixed union. Irrespective of those who were formerly wantons and subsequently became permanently married, Ponto has twelve to fifteen members of this class. They are not regarded as outcasts nor is their mode of life condemned as vicious. They arouse public displeasure only if they lure men away from their wives, and even then the man is held solely responsible. Privately and publicly the wantons are on a footing of equality in their relations with virgins and married women; they are simply not models and have certainly failed to live up to the ideal.

It took me considerable time to determine the identity of the wantons, for their behavior is devoid of impudence or boldness, even in talking with the bachelors of the tribe. To them, too, the Timbira principle applies that a man is helpless against a woman's aversion, so that there is no question of any coercion or of a wanton's obligation to yield to a man coveting her. On the contrary, they choose their lovers and, what is more, mostly in an extraordinarily discreet manner. Usually the wanton gets her brother to ask the young man she favors to bring her a piece of some game animal or something of the sort. If he consents, he immediately suggests through the intermediary a rendezvous at a specified spot in the steppe or the woods at a certain time. Thither he takes his gift and receives his reward.

837 585 Most of the wantons soon establish so permanent a relationship with their lovers as to create the impression of ceremonially wedded wives as soon as the man sleeps in her matrilineal home. Indeed, especially after the birth of children, they come to be regarded as such. So far as I was able to observe, this is even the most frequent form of union nowadays. Only a small minority fully exercise their right to take up with any man they wish. Such happenings as Von den Steinen describes for the Bororo[88] are not possible among the Timbira.

The lovers supply their mistresses in the manner stated with gifts, especially victuals, but also with other objects. If the present is such as to be unsuitable for the girl, she will turn it over to her brother, who is usually cognizant of her amours and figures as her natural protector and counselor.

[848] A pregnant wanton names all the men with whom she has had sexual relations during pregnancy, thus enabling them all to go into seclusion in the infant's interests (p. 107).

834 837 At present not a single wanton pays the least attention to moiety exogamy. My impression is that it was these wantons who first transgressed the rule and that people came to regard union with one of these girls as the normal form of matrimony.

DESIRE FOR CHILDREN

562 842 The more children parents have, the better they like it. Since there is sex equality neither boys nor girls are preferred. In 1936 six girls happened to be born one after the other, a circumstance that attracted general attention, but no unfavorable comment.

586 842 A man would leave the wife he had married as a virgin provided she proved barren. I do not know how far this was a mere pretext, for I know two childless couples who have not the least intention of separating for that reason.

782 In order to effect conception a woman breaks the egg of some bird, preferably that of a *Tinamus* species, and rubs the yolk on her body. Others invoke the sun: Smearing urueú on the palms of their hands, they go outside the village in the morning, raise their hands toward the rising sun and pray: "kedti! iymãiykra ño,

[88] Von den Steinen, Naturvölkern, 388 f.